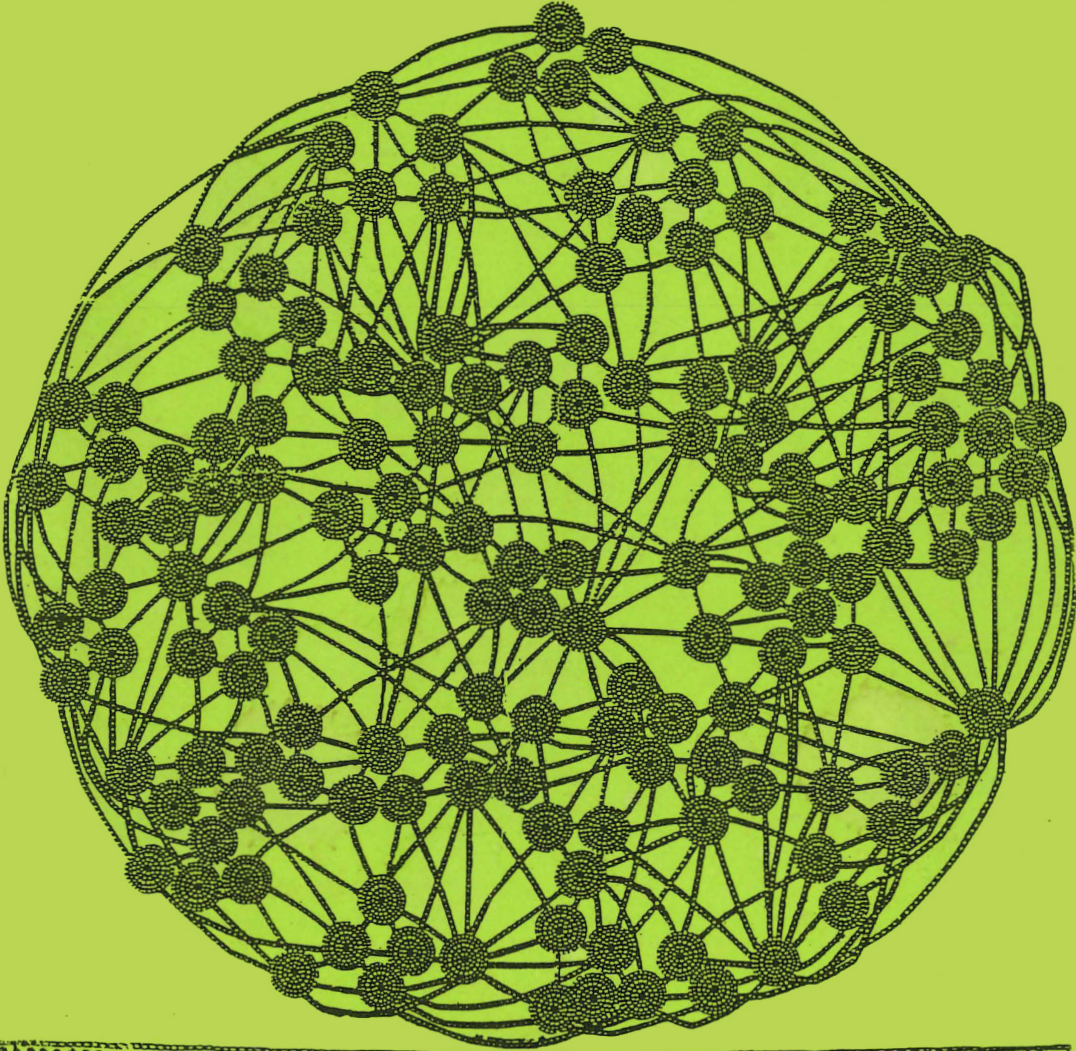


Anarchist Organisation:

Suggestions and Possibilities



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Preface:

It is often said that plans ought not to be drawn up for a future society.

All such plans we are told are of the nature of romances, and they have the disadvantage, that some day they may hamper the creative force of a people in Revolution.

There may be some truth in this. Doubtless a certain of reasoning theorists were influenced in this way by Cabets "Voyage en Icarie." But all sociological works that have made any deep impression have done this.

On the other hand, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the actual concrete results that our Communist, Collectivist, or other aspirations, might have on society. For this purpose we must picture to ourselves these various institutions at work.

Where do we want to get by means of the Revolution. We need to know this. There must be therefore books which will enable the mass of people to form for themselves a more or less exact idea precedes its realisation. For instance, would the modern progress in aviation have been made if during the last fifty years a certain number of French physicists and engineers had not placed before themselves in a concrete fashion this aim - this "romance" if you will. "The conquest of air by a machine heavier than air."

It is only necessary to accustom oneself never to attach more importance to a book, to a treatise of any kind, than such a book or treatise-however good it may be-has in reality.

A book is not a gospel to be taken in its entirety or to be left alone. It is a suggestion a proposal-nothing more. It is for us to reflect, to see what it contains that is good, and to reject whatever we find erroneous in it.

PETER KROPOTKIN:and the Preface, The New International
Publishing Co. 1913. "Syndacism Co-operative
Commonwealth".

Anarchist Organisation:

Suggestions & Possibilities

The organization of complex modern societies is not something that can be subject of a single plan, however brilliant, inspired or rational. The desire to externally impose a rigid and dogmatic social blue-print is of course one of the greatest follies of state communism, with its five year plans, compulsory quotas and enforced collectivisation schemes. All such attempts represent terrifying and totalitarian examples of large scale social engineering that has always failed both economically and politically.

Nonetheless, the bare assertion, although true, that humans in the absence of a centralized state control will somehow manage to develop a workable pattern of social organization fails to convince the general inquirer of the possibility and desirability of anarchy. It is necessary therefore, drawing upon imaginative theoretical projection and the actual history of more or less anarchist inspired social movements of the past to provide a general outline of the major structural components of anarchist society. A brief summary of these components, which will be discussed in order is provided below.

MICRO LEVEL COMPONENTS OF ANARCHIST SOCIETY

1. The Ecologically integrated, self-sufficient and autonomous city
2. Mutual Aid Associations
3. Skill exchanges, co-operatives & Trade Unions.

MACRO LEVEL COMPONENTS OF ANARCHIST SOCIETY

- A. Cultural Region.
- B. Biological Region
- C. Economic Region

Anarchists regard the city, not the nation-state as the natural focus of social, political and economic activity. With the destruction of the Nation-state the free, independent and self governing city would become the primary or basic unit of civil life.

Humans have never lived individually nor for that matter in loose anonymous herds, they have lived in communities. For millions of years we have lived in face to face communities. Communities it must be noted that were for the most part successfully able to control anti-social behaviour without recourse to the police person or the gallows. For the state is only a recent arrival in the social history of our species. The majority of our species have only in the last couple of centuries come to take the view that the state and its agencies should take responsibility for matters that were once the common concern of all the members of the social group.

In the absence of the state, the deep rooted need and socially stabilising tendencies of human community in the evolution of our species, would after a brief period of adjustment quickly reassert itself. Accordingly many, if not all of these vital social functions and practices which through laziness we have foolishly left in the hands of bureaucrats and state officials would once again be performed in an infinitely more humane way by the internally self regulating community. There will be no solution to crime and anti-social behaviour, asserts anarchism, without the resurrection of human community, albeit within the context of the modern city, and this can only come about with the destruction of capitalism and the state. Anarchism is asking us to look more carefully at the primary means of maintaining social health and stability and does not advocate a return to small and isolated community life-styles of a past era. Anarchism regards the city as a natural product of a large and social species and understands the need for individual space, appreciating that the vast majority of our species are pleased to have escaped the potentially suffocating nature of "traditional" communities. Malicious gossip, ridicule, narrow mindedness and the constant peer from behind the net-curtains can be as equally cruel and damaging as the secret police or the prison cell. In advocating the self governing city anarchism hopes to find a mid-way point between the isolated nuclear family and the nation state or the tribal, small scale communal life of old. Anarchism wishes to take advantage of the stabilising effects of allowing ordinary people to once again take charge of their cities and suburban communities for themselves whilst avoiding the alienation

powerlessness, lawlessness and loneliness of the modern capital city. Anarchism looks towards a vision of city life consisting of an agglomeration of extended-urban neighbourhood communities or townships sharing a common cultural centre.

In a future and more ecologically informed world the ideal conception of city life and organisation would be one that had achieved total self-sufficiency. To create a city functioning as a living entity which grows its own food, provides its own energy and recycles its own waste so efficiently that it has effectively become an eco-system in its own right. The ecologically integrated, self-sufficient autonomous city behaving like any other naturally occurring system, such as a forest which recycles all of its organic matter (leaves, trunks and dead animals) in a self renewing and ever on going natural cycle that takes nothing from outside its-self except oxygen, carbon dioxide and sunlight.

Our cities which currently import hundreds of millions of tons of food, fuel and water (and much more besides) and spew out hundred millions of tons of garbage and human waste into the surrounding biosphere, usually in an extremely reckless manner with no attempt at internally recycling or reprocessing, is an eco-system which stands little or no chance of long term survival. It would seem to attempt to operate along the lines that are directly opposite to the fundamental precepts of a biologically rational and ecologically rational life philosophy. If our cities are to survive we must begin to mix the matrix of organic and inorganic components from which our cities are composed into a integrated and self renewing macrobiological entity capable of surviving in the absence of large scale inputs of energy, food and water.

That concept of the "green city" represents an exciting and rational alternative to the lifeless organic sprawl is undoubtedly! "but?" ask most people "What is the practical possibility of restructuring our cities in this way? Surely it represents an enormous technical and cultural challenge with barriers that are perhaps insurmountable?"

Creating a green city does however frequently involve nothing more than solving quite simple problems in a more imaginative and ecologically informed way. For example instead of merely pumping our sewage into our rivers and oceans, as we are doing today, solid waste can be composted in order to grow fruit and vegetables or alternatively fed to fish in specially designed ponds for human consumption.

(This form of "aqua-culture" in which fish are used as a "living filter" for solid human waste is very old and is still practiced in many parts of India and China). Secondly, less solid waste can be sprayed in measured amounts on the floor of specially monitored "urban forests". Trees are seen to grow 2 or 3 times faster and if they are positioned correctly in relation to existing water courses, tolerably clean water can be obtained down-stream (again using the forest as a 'living filter'). The use of clean energy sources such as natural gas, wind and solar, etc., could also significantly reduce the cities daily intake of externally produced energy from finite resources and sources which cause large-scale environmental hazards. The possibilities of this technology are much, much greater than is generally supposed due to deliberate lying and the suppression of information and development of this potentially booming area of technological development by the state/corporate elite (oil and electrical companies and the state sponsored nuclear industry - See Ray Reece, *The Sun Betrayed: The Corporate Seizure of US Solar Energy*, Black Rose 1979, \$4 Jura Books). Derelict and under-utilised land can (as has been shown in ecology parks, Botanic gardens) be used to establish very productive urban nature reserves and thereby 'greening' significant sections of the city. This can also be achieved through coming to regard rivers, roads, railways and other utility paths as not only highways for human traffic but also as passages by which a variety of plants, animals and trees may also enter and establish themselves in our cities. The leaves of the trees providing a living filter to the air and a habitat which is capable of supporting a rich array of native animal and insect life to delight and enthral the cities inhabitants.

The obstacles involved in creating a self-sustaining city carefully integrated with its surrounding ecological regions may be great but they are hardly insurmountable. In the simple act of attempting to recycle our sewerage (currently desecrating our metropolitan waters) - the green city can not only obtain valuable supplies of meat, timber, vegetables and water but can also significantly lessen its impact upon its surrounding wilderness and country areas. Such efficiencies, when combined with the intelligent utilization of 'ecological architecture' and locally available clean energy sources (just a few of the many social ecological adjustments and improvements that could be undertaken by the modern city) could significantly enhance the economic and ecological viability of human city life, whilst greatly increasing its capacities for

independence and survival in what is becoming an increasingly barren and resource depleted planet. Although the realisation of a city-region which had reached its maximum survival capacity and achieved total self-sufficiency is perhaps a utopian and unnecessarily extreme vision at this present point of urban evolution, the directions that we must take are technologically uncomplicated and both obvious and practical.

2. MUTUAL AID ASSOCIATIONS

Evolutionary biology is unfortunately still associated in the popular mind with the crude and outdated notion of the 'survival of the fittest'. Although at an obvious level, only those individuals or species which are healthy or are able to successfully 'fit' into an ecosystem will survive and be able to pass on their genes to a new generation - such a process is in no way dependant upon a fierce, bloody, and individualistic 'struggle for existence' with which the term 'survival of the fittest' is wrongly associated. Such a view of the evolutionary process, although containing a certain amount of truth - is only a very small part of the overall picture. This is especially true of the emphasis upon individualistic conflict - which has been promoted because of its compatibility with capitalist ideology rather than from an objective observation of nature and evolutionary process. Most animals when faced with danger would rather run than fight and 'fitness' must be understood in a much wider sense than that of a boxing match between two conflicting individuals. Besides, peaceful and co-operative behaviour represents a force equally as potent as that of individual conflict.

At the very beginning of biological time, when the sum of the world's life consisted only of single-celled organisms - such organisms had available two or three major strategies by which they could avoid being eaten or otherwise surviving to a reproductive age. Either they could develop protective measures - such as defensive cell walls and chemical and other deterrents - alternatively they could co-operate amongst themselves to create larger many-celled organisms. That multi-cellular life exists at all is evidence that co-operation amongst living things occurred in the first stirrings of the primeval soup. Even the very simplest of plants contain many hundreds of thousands of cells - all of which are capable of individually regulating themselves

- controlling the flow of nutrients, wastes and water through their surrounding membranes - but who nonetheless interact with one another

in an ordered, co-operative and peaceful manner. The individual human-being contains a great diversity and many hundreds of millions or individual cells all of which perform specialist functions and work and co-ordinate with one another with remarkable efficiency.

The constructive and co-operative behaviour amidst unicellular life can likewise be observed in the interactions between larger and more complex animals. The way in which ants and termites work with one another in the formation of a nest or the unity of action

and purpose of a flock of birds in flight are prominent examples of co-operation and mutuality in nature. Despite all of the talk of individualist struggle in nature the survival value of living socially and co-operatively are enormous, and have been far more influential than conflict in the evolution of intelligent life. Birds, for example (who, like reptiles are much more directly related to the dinosaurs than mammals) have long understood the value of co-operation. Social birds are able to help their mates remove harmful parasites through preening one another; teach their young the whereabouts of favoured feeding sites and hunting skills - as well as guard against attack through giving warning signals. Within the vast majority of mammal species co-operative behaviour is no longer simply instincts. Rats, monkeys and humans not only co-operate with one another in order to simply 'survive' but have a deep rooted psychological need to play, touch and feel other living and kindred beings. What is the direct survival value of the dolphins which come into shore at Monkey Mia in Western Australia in order to play with human beings? Mammals love to play, cuddle, amuse and enjoy themselves in the company of others.

These basic communicative and co-operative skills are expanded thousand-fold within the human species. Humans associate, communicate and federate for a seemingly infinite number of reasons corresponding to every interest or need and representing every manifestation of the human mind. Even now the world is crossed by millions upon millions of voluntary associations, 99% of which operate completely independently of any kind of governmental interference whatsoever. To make a list of these would prove impossible. There are international cancer foundations, literary societies, computer clubs, pensioner self-help groups, automobile associations, etc., etc., ad infinitum. If there are common needs or interests you can guarantee that people will organize to meet them.

When anarchists speak of overthrowing the state to people unfamiliar with anarchist theory and practice, they are frequently met

with the rejoinder; "and what do you intend to replace it with? Where is your programme? Surely the absence of the state will mean the destruction of organized social life and simply result in chaos?"

Humankind is however naturally social and cannot help but develop complex patterns of socially beneficial organization. Local baby sitting networks, hobby groups, sports clubs, trade unions, as well as international groups such as the Red Cross or Amnesty International, are all examples of successful social organizations that have been developed and function independently of governmental or centralized state control. Anarchists believe, that the people committed to the destruction of the state would soon elaborate networks of social co-operation to provide for the varied and ever-changing needs and requirements of human social existence.

The era of tribalism and cultural isolationism, itself the cause of so much war and conflict is decaying in the face of a communications-technological advance which increase the potentiality for the mutually co-operative and federative exchange of information to proportions we are only just beginning to understand.

Already billions upon billions upon billions of bits of data concerning every possible human interest whiz around our globe every part of a second. The communications-technological revolution, as yet but a few years old, opens up opportunities for information exchange and mutual assistance both locally and globally which are truly enormous. Although much of this communications wizardry has been in the hands of the Media, Big Business and the military, already it is technologically possible for coal miners or cat breeders in the most remote outpost of human settlement to be able - via a home computer and a telephone - to communicate with other coal miners and cat breeders anywhere in the world. Information and communication networks if freed from state-capitalist control would allow for the global exchange of information and services between ordinary everyday people on whatever is of interest or concern to them. Up until now specialist journals and publications have been the primary means of exchanging information and services - soon all this is to be replaced by a more interactive and immediate approach - where all people with an interest in a particular trade, topic, issue or dispute can communicate freely, openly continuously both locally and globally from the comfort of their own lounge room. The anarchist's dream of a world in which people involved in every interest, trade or industry could self-organise their affairs in an informed and

constructive manner in the absence of hierarchy and large-scale control and administration centres is everyday becoming clearer.

Anarchism envisages that modern communication and transport technologies would allow for the social, economic and intellectual benefits of the 'big city' to be compatible with decentralized community life-styles. Inter-communal federations of trade and interest would provide for those needs and requirements uncatered for at the level of the individual community or township. These intercommunal social lineages would naturally seek to create, elaborate and operate their own unique modes and networks or organizations and inter-federation according to their individually self-determined needs and aspirations.

3. CO-OPERATIVES, SKILL-EXCHANGES AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

The co-operative exchange of services within the community according to contemporary economic theory must either be dictated by the market or managed through centralized state planning and control. Both of these systems fail to take account, in fact actively distrust the immense power of the naturally occurring community in the provision of many of the services which are presently obtained through government agencies or by private and profit-before-people oriented companies.

Anarchism distrustful of the inequalities of capitalism and abhorred by the inefficient and totalitarian consequences of state-communism has in its commitment to the ecologically integrated, self-governing and self-sufficient city always recognised the economic possibilities of community life. In the absence of government and constitutional law - people will have to take far more responsibility for their own safety and prosperity. The need to maintain basic services and the control of anti-social behaviour will automatically bring local people closer. Many of those services and social problems presently mediated or dealt with by the impersonal agencies of capital and state being spontaneously given, rather than being applied or paid for through the re-emergence of a revitalised community consciousness and pride.

Most people however do not want to be dependant upon a relative handful of the same people; preferring instead to socialise with a large diversity of people and the freedom to choose who they ask to perform professional services or provide for special needs. There are many good reasons why people prefer to consult a professional who is a stranger and besides small communities cannot, in our modern and complex world

ever hope to contain a sufficiently diverse skill-base. It is the city - not the isolated town or suburban community that must be the arena of social, economic and political life.

Thankfully, modern communications, accounting and information systems allow for many basic goods and services to be provided by means of 'skill-exchanges' in a more formalised manner and on a city-wide basis. The L.E.T.S. (Local Exchange & Trading System) in Australia is an example, in a small way, demonstrated the enormous potentiality of formalised skill-exchange systems. The Local Employment & Trading System is a non-profit community exchange method of using neighbourhood skills. It is based on the idea that all people have skills they can offer to help others. Each member has an account held in the L.E.T.S. office. Points are credited to the person providing the goods and services and the same number of points is to be debited from the receivers account. Accounts may go into debit before earning credit and no interest is earned on either debit or credit accounts. Thus a very wide diversity of goods and services can be exchanged on a community basis without the use of money or capitalist entrepreneurs - accommodation, animal care, art and graphic work, healing, cooking, counselling, domestic help, mechanical repairs, training, transport, entertainment, gardening, produce, personal and other professional tradeswork. Most cities have a version of the yellow pages, in which the telephone numbers of trades-people are listed - and there is no good reason why skill-exchange systems such as L.E.T.S., which are currently operating on a relatively small-scale could not become workable on a city-wide basis.

Co-operatives, from a group of people wishing to run a local chicken breeding farm to the vast co-operative societies of the Basques have long been regarded as an alternative, non-capitalist method of agricultural and industrial production. Co-operatives rather than seeking to exchange skills on an individualistic basis, attempts to bring people with common skills, needs, purposes and interests to pool their resources and work co-operatively within a collective framework. Throughout history and in every conceivable trade, industry or profession humans have found it useful to work together on the basis of equality, collective ownership and shared responsibility to pursue common aims and purposes. Hundreds of thousands if not millions of enterprises world wide, at this very moment choose to organise their business and working affairs upon such a basis.

Through expansion and utilization of the co-operative movement and skill-exchange systems, combined with a new sense of Civil

Independence and Pride which would accompany the liberation of the community from the claws of centralized authority anarchism hopes that the autonomous city could achieve cohesion and stability. A friendly and self-sufficient city whose inhabitants share a common concern for the health of their environmental and fellow citizens and who work together in a spirit of equality and the unity of purpose.

Something approximating to this vision can be found in the Craft Guilds of early Medieval European city life. At this time, before the consolidation of a centralised Monarchal order and the later ascendancy of the merchant & middle classes - cities were self-governing, self-sufficient and autonomous to a very high degree. Each trade, craft or industry - bakers, founders, smiths, tanners, cask makers, builders, stone masons etc. were represented by their own Craft Guild. Unlike the trades-unions of today with a passive membership and a small body of full-time paid officials, who no longer take an active part in the everyday working life of its members, the craft guilds consisted of all the bakers or stone masons within the city - all of which took an active part in the control and organization of their trade - in all aspects - production, consumption and exchange. Conflicts between individual guild members were decided by arbiters and disputes between different guilds by persons elected by both parties. The close integration of economic, political and social life within the context of an individual city commune meant that if really serious disputes arose between different crafts and trades it was all the citizens, the city itself, which ultimately resolved them. Although the early vigour and the popular democratic nature of the guilds tended to wane and eventually fell prey to the narrow interests of the aristocracy, church and middle classes, the technical know-how preserved and developed during this period as craft secrets - laid the foundation for all the great cities of Europe today.

Although the self-governing city represents the most basic social, economic and political unit of anarchist society - the global nature of 20th Century industrial life requires elaborate and extensive systems of industrial organization whose operations and activities must operate inter-regionally or on a world scale. Although cities must become considerably more integrated and economically self-sufficient than they are today - the need to maintain transport and communication links between cities (roads, railways, cables etc.) and the unequal distribution of scarce resources (timber, minerals etc.) which are found in relatively few places but are universally needed in every city around the world requires extensive and powerful industrial and economic

structures whose proper and efficient functioning is of inter-regional and global interest and importance. Even the early craft guilds found it necessary to hold regular conferences where guilds from separate cities involved in the same trade came together to discuss problems of common concern.

Supporters of capitalism and state have continuously argued that the 'international nature of the global economy' necessitates some form of centralized control agency. The Marxists of the former 'communist block' believing that every aspect and detail of economic and industrial life should be centrally planned. Apologists for capitalism have argued that the worst moral, social and environmental excesses inherent in the economic and social contradictions of the 'free-market- and the class system - environmental destruction, structural unemployment, monopoly, instability, wild and irrational fluctuations in market confidence, gross inequality, sexual exploitation etc.. - need to be controlled by the institutions of the 'liberal democratic state' in the form of welfare management, resource security legislation and other market controls.

Anarchism believes that there is an alternative, and rather than placing its faith in capital and state to administer industrial concerns and inter-regional economic life, hopes rather, that ordinary working people will organize their affairs from the bottom upwards and run their industry for themselves through the development of democratic workplace practices and trades-unionism. When anarchists speak of trades-unionism however they do not talk in favour of large-scale, bureaucratic and centralized structures of today incapable of doing little more than meekly arbitrating with their state-capitalist oppressors for the right to remain a wage-slave. Anarchists look rather, towards a conception of trades-unionism which demands only that the workers regain control of their working lives and like the artisans, trades and journeypeople of the medieval guilds, again become masters of their trade and rather than working for the state or a handful of capitalist barons, administer, develop and perfect their work for the benefit of themselves, their fellow workers, their family, their city and humanity at large

Such ideas are not mere daydreams and were once common amongst trades-unionists of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Organisations such as the I.W.A. (International Workers Association), the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) and the Spanish C.N.T. (National Trades Confederation) attracted millions upon millions of ordinary working people who were inspired by a vision of regional,

national and global working class organization - where the workers in each trade and industry in every region of the globe would co-operate with one another not for the pleasure of a powerful few but for the common benefit of all working people. The history of these now seldom heard of organizations were both tragic and violent - the combined forces of capitalism and the military-state successfully dedicating themselves to their destruction. These early trade-union movements were however extremely influential, and although their achievements fell far short of their original aims, many of the benefits that workers enjoy all over

the world, such as that of the Eight Hour Day or equality of sexual access were won or first aired - at great cost in human blood, by workers in organizations such as the I.W.W., whose hate of governmental and the state was equalled only by their contempt for the capitalist classes. Anarchism hopes that the original aims and ideals of the international trade-union movement will once again inspire the working classes to self-activity - and guided by a renewed faith in their ability to directly manage human affairs, will not only 'inherit the Earth' but successfully and sustainably organize economic and industrial life for the benefit of themselves, their industry and their fellow workers.

Like the artisans of old the workers would take charge of their industry - and beginning at the level of the individual farm, factory or depot begin to organize regional and inter-regional economic and industrial life. Anarcho-syndicalism by encouraging self-organisation at the point of production attempts to avoid centralized hierarchical structures associated with contemporary unionism. Where regional, inter-regional structures are deemed necessary by the workers themselves associated administrative positions are to be filled by persons elected by direct democracy and rotated frequently - office holders returning directly to the workforce. Trades-unions or syndicates would organize to supply the basic necessities of the individual city-region, transport, energy, raw materials, bulk food, consumer products etc., and to ensure their equitable distribution. Modern computer aided communications and accounting systems already make the boss redundant and could if used intelligently, considerably improve the possibility that such a conception of economic life is not only possible - but may be considerably more smooth running than the economic and individualistic chaos of free market capitalism or the bureaucratic ineptitude of central planning. In fact the inter-communicative potential of modern society means that the choice of either a centrally planned or capitalist economy (or a mixture of both

- as is usually the case) is an increasingly dated one. The organization of an industry in a regionally and globally co-ordinated and rational manner no longer implies the existence of large, troublesome and hierarchial bureaucracies - already the work of thousands of bureaucrats and company accountants can be replaced by one small computer and communication systems can disseminate a constant flow of data and information at lightening speed to any corner of our globe. Goods and services can be produced in the right amounts and delivered and distributed to where they are most needed anywhere in the world, not according to profit or directives from a central-state computer but by the workers themselves upon the basis of accurate and up-to-date information from suppliers and consumers arriving at their factory, farm or workshop every minute of the day. Each industry rather than being under the administrative control of individual capitalism, company chairpeople or the state would become a trade-organization in its own right, managed by all of the workers of which it is composed and co-ordinating its activities both locally and globally for the common good of all.

PART II REGIONS: CULTURAL, ECONOMIC & BIOLOGICAL

In the absence of the artificial boundaries of the nation-state - the naturally occurring region, along with the autonomous city would represent the most important unit of social, political, economic and ecological organization. Individual towns, cities, trades-unions and other mutual-aid associations would have to organize themselves with each other upon a regional and inter-regional basis. The concept of region is complex, open-ended and multi-faceted. What however is essential is that the majority of people identify and designate a particular area as a region. Nonetheless, except in the most superficial of cases, the designation and identification of a piece of land as a region is always based upon a core mixture of human and non-human geographical features; cultural, economic, ecological and political - all of which are of equal importance and rightly influential in our perception and classification of regional difference and boundary.

A Cultural Region

The idea that Europe somehow leaped from tribalism to Roman civilisation is a quite false one. The barbarians were not as the school history books suggest a disorderly, isolated and unconnected agglomeration of small warring tribes. Even a cursory glance at Stone Henge or the bronze or gold work recovered from burial mounds show us that the ancient Britons were far from being a cultureless and disorderly mob of savages. Cultural evolution did not remain at a standstill from the time of the cave, the stone axe or wooden beads and so called Roman Civilisation. On the contrary, barbarian culture had developed over many thousands of years, the various peoples and tribal groupings communicating, and travelling and trading extensively with one another and their legends, art, craft, iron, bronze and gold work achieving high levels of excellence. Likewise, the immense complexity and enormous cultural diversity of African tribal life until its disruption by European colonisation is in all its aspects; social structure, language, art, architecture etc., are a source of wonderment, beauty and excitement.

Although certain cultural groups such as the inhabitants of Easter island or dense and impenetrable rain-forest developed and evolved for many thousands of years independently of any outside influences whatsoever. Different human groupings did in most cases, have a considerable amount of contact with one another and were neither unconnected or isolated. In Asia, Africa and Europe small bands and villages federated to form tribal nations consisting of many hundreds of thousands of people. Although certain tribes, such as the South African Zulu, formed themselves into large authoritarian and centralized monarchies similar in structure to the modern state, in many cases the numerous villages and groups of which the tribal nation was composed, were held together according to complex, non-centralized webs of communication, marriage, trade and shared culture. As such, little or no need was felt to develop centralized, authoritarian power structures to administer and regulate themselves.

Although the state in its modern form has only been with us, for a few centuries, a sense of nation-hood a wider sense of cultural national identity that extends far beyond the individual band or tribe has existed for many tens of thousands of years. The Australian Aborigines, for example, despite speaking seven hundred different languages or dialects,

and being widely dispersed over a extremely large geographical area shared a common religious experience in regard to the (land). Travel and trade was conducted extensively with one another by means of a complex network of 'dreaming tracks' that covered the entire continent. Trade in flint arrowheads was likewise quite extensive in stone-age European life and huge flint mines have been uncovered. Even the Vikings who rightly or wrongly renowned for their spirit of rugged individualism exhibited this sense of a wider national identity - representatives of all the most important Viking troops periodically meeting on a particular spot at a predetermined time (at the ThingValir) to exchange news and discuss common issues and concerns.

To whatever corner of the world we may turn our attention, it is fair to conclude that before the emergence of the great empires, cultural difference was much more prominent and tended to be distributed upon an eco-regional basis. Although mass migrations and invasions did occur these were as often as not due to prolonged drought or cold and several years of successive crop failure in a particular region which had forced people to seek new lands (this is certainly particularly true of the Vikings). Generally, the effects of isolation by physical barriers, deserts, mountains & water etc., tended to create a large number of widely dispersed tribal groupings who were closely integrated with the surrounding ecology of their regions. Even the nomadic peoples of Arctic, Africa and North America tended to follow the seasons, crossing the ice, the desert or the prairies and arriving at the place at the same time each year in order to take advantage of different pasture grounds or the annual movement of large game. People were economically, culturally and ecologically embedded within their region - upon which they were completely dependent for their survival. Even in 18th and 19th Century Europe, the existence of enormous cultural diversity on a regional basis was an established fact or everyday life to a much greater extent than it is today. Thus the founders of anarchism assumed that with the destruction of centralized governmental control, individual cities, trades-unions and other mutual aid association would automatically federate according to natural and ethno-graphically determined autonomous regions.

Indeed the appeal of Anarchism for many early 19th Century Europeans was in many respects a romantic, though deeply felt hankering for a return of a kind of golden age when regional geographical

variation co-mingled and coalesced with extended tribal networks in the climax of the barbarian order. An era enwrapped in popular folk-lore depicting a 'free-age' of tribal-national solidarity before the emergence of Caesarism and the centralising brutality which latterly accompanies the absorption and final collapse of this dynamic regionalist order with the crystallisation of the state-monarchial order.

P.J. Proudhon (1809-1865), one of the intellectual founders of social anarchism who passionately admired the former independence of the Swiss cantons and campaigned vigorously against the unification of Italy (which was not unified until the end of the 19th Century) accepted this thesis as a self-evident fact of European political and social culture. This is never more apparent as when discussing the possibility of social anarchism within his native France. In one chapter of his then widely read and influential work *The Principle of Federation*, Proudhon attempts to delineate two thoroughly counterposing visions of the Gallic nation. The French nation prior to unification, claims Proudhon, consisted of a free federation of Gallic tribes; "Of four distinct races - Gauls, Cimbri, Gascons and Ligurians - which was further divided into more than forty peoples". Although each and every one of these tribes had a separate and identifiable character, each and every one understood that the borders of the Gallic nation lay with the 'North Sea, the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Alps, the Pyrenees and the Rhine'. The early French nation rather than attempting the imperialistic and centralized absorption of diversity implied in Roman conquest and the development of the state in all its various manifestations, had, on the contrary, formed a loose-knit but nonetheless effective confederation of national (and sub-national) Gallic tribal forces. All attempts at unification, however successful, had, Proudhon asserts, historically led to a reduction in regional power and hence a reduction in the political and social power of the broad masses of the Gallic peoples.

When one examines the populist elements of Proudhon one is immediately struck by what one contemporary commentator, Richard Vernon, has recently called the "primordial" or "pre-political", one might say organic nature of his populist=federalist argument. Vernon continues:...and whether such an antiquarian view is essential to his argument or not, he often wrote as though the local or regional communities which were to constitute federations were in some sense

primordial or natural, pre-political entities whose distinct characters required political defence and political expression. (1)

(1) VERNON, Richard. *The Principle of Federation* by P.J. Proudhon, Toronto, Univ. of Toronto Press, 1979, p.xxviii.

Proudhon in his support of the region as the primary unit of macro-level interfederation is thus to some extent based upon a biologicistic-cultural argument in which the region is seen as a natural and organic interlinking of culture and environment.

The destruction of cultural diversity by state-capitalist imperialism in the 19th Century has in the 20th been a continuing trend. The effects of television and mass communication, in particular, tending to undermine regional autonomy and has led to the development of 'universal cultures' to such an extent that we now find no difficulty in understanding or using concepts as 'Western' or 'European' mainstream culture. This is not to say that cultural-national independence struggles are not an important aspect of contemporary political life. This is especially true where state boundaries take no account of significant cultural-national ones. The aspirations of the Basques in Spain or France or the Kurdish minorities in Russian, Turkey, Iran and Iraq are prominent examples of this problem. More generally continuing conflict in the Indian and Russian Empires also show us that the process of national-state-imperialism is far from a complete and durable political structure. A host of regional and cultural independence struggles in Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, Fiji, East Timor, Yugoslavia etc. around the world continually highlight the brutal, artificial and unrealistic nature of centralised state control. Although at the international level cultural, economic and political in the form of such bodies as European Economic Community, is in many respects extremely heartening - global and regional peace and prosperity is unlikely to emerge unless cultural imperialism is conquered once and for all. Even now the Scottish peoples are asking themselves if they would not be better off and regain their cultural-national pride through becoming an independent member of the European Economic Community. Europe will not achieve ecological and cultural stability unless the Basques, Latvians, Catalans, Ukrainians and the Kurds are allowed the freedom, independence and self determination to solve their own unique problems

and build their life according to their regional ecology and their historical and cultural aspirations.

Although the nation-state has made many of the social and moral evils of nationalism many, many times worse than it might otherwise have been, cultural difference has of itself has been as much of a hindrance as it has been of benefits, to the social developments within our species. - International or inter-tribal wars have unfortunately been as prominent a feature of human life as that of co-operation. Racism, ethnocentrism, colonialism and genocide are all the by-products of nationalism and cultural diversity. Anarchism has never claimed that conflict can be eliminated or that such problems can be quickly and easily resolved - all that anarchism asks is that the various parties might solve their differences amongst themselves without the weight of state military authority backing one side or the other. Every time the Russian Republic have driven their tanks into Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Ukraine etc., they have merely asserted their might, not their rights, and have gone nowhere in the directions of peacefully resolving such conflicts for the better. The holocaust in Germany during World War II or Stalin's purges in the 1930's perhaps illustrating more than any other the dysfunctional, disintegrating and destructive effects of over-zealous nationalist sentiments which are rendered a thousand times more terrible through the development of the centralized military authority of the nation-state. Cultural intolerance, on a racial/tribal/national and territorial basis has undoubtedly been a major obstacles to the peaceful,eco-regionally integrated and globally harmonious evolution of our species. - Nationalism is however a fact of everyday human-cultural life and the large number of unresolved nationalist independence struggles mean that the nation - defined as a federation of culturally related regions and territories - even with the elimination of the nation-state - will remain the single most important component of the anarchists social vision - for the foreseeable future. From a longer-term point of view - modern studies in genetica have shown that biological differences between the human races are not great. It is difficult in itself to observe any really significant difference in the genetic coding between chimpanzees and humans and at the micro-biological level the real difference between an Australian aboriginal and Western European are so small as to be nearly insignificant. Beyond this, mass migrations resulting from both bloody conquest and peaceful driftings make the idea that it would be desirable or even possible to

organise life solely upon a territorial-cultural basis, in the very long term future an increasingly absurd proposition. Although the land-rights movements of the Inuit, Red Indians and aboriginal peoples are not insignificant - this is especially true of countries such as Canada, America & Australia in which the vast majority of its inhabitants are immigrants from every country in the world, who are moreover, for the most part genuinely dedicated to an ideology of multi-culturalisms and whose original, primordial, organic and racial cultural connections to their country of birth or to that piece of earth beneath their feet has been broken forever. Despite the nauseating patriotism of American television many immigrants after generations still regard the mother country as Ireland, England or Russia. They remain in many respects still foreigners in their own country. The attempt to artificially restore this sense of an original, ancient and organic enrootedness through centralized government and the nation-state is an absurdity. Unlike the Americans whose fauna and flora is not dissimilar to that of Northern Europe & who fought a war of independence against the English asserting thereby a more profoundly nationalist identity - the Australian Bicentennial celebrations represented a tragic inability to realise that to characterise Australia as a nation, and take such an idea seriously, was to fail to appreciate the makings of a good joke.

B. THE ECOLOGICAL REGION

An even more compelling reason why the nation and nationalism cannot remain the primary means of demarcating social and political space and boundary is that it is an approach to social organization which is completely human centred. Many of the national-state borders which we now regard as important, such as the 49th parallel dividing America & Canada do not bear any correspondence to ecological and biological factors. There is no difference in fauna, flora, climate and physiography for many hundreds of miles either side of the dividing line. The Swiss, Italian & French Alps are likewise divided according to human-cultural rather than to ecological or biological considerations. It is obvious that if we are to gain a proper relationship to the natural bio-geography of our planet we cannot continue to divide its surface according to the formula;

100% HUMAN-CENTRED NATIONALIST DETERMINANT OVER ALL OTHER GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS INCLUDING THE ECOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ALL OTHER ORGANIC LIFE FORMS.

The lack of significant difference within the human species, the disintegration of any direct relationship between culture and territory in the breakdown and imperialist destruction of an organic tribal-national order, and the pressing need to make human activities and lifestyles be increasingly more integrated with the delicate eco-regional balance of our living planet, and indeed for a host of other equally compelling reasons it should be a safe bet to assume that if our species is fortunate enough to survive another hundred thousand years that naturally occurring ecological region will almost certainly have become the primary method of demarcating social, economic and cultural space.

The science of bio-regionalism attempts to explain and delineate regional limit primarily in terms of non-socioeconomic determinants. It is thus an attempt to empirically assess the limits of 'natural boundary' with particular reference to physical and non-human geography. Thereby seeking to establish an independent and universally acceptable scientific method of delineating region that is not subject to the mysticism and petit-nationalism, which has all too frequently been associated with the populist aspirations of regional independence struggles.

Bio-regionalism represents an important and unique method of demarcating political space. Changes in (a) species distribution, (b) climate, (c) drainage and rainfall and (d) physiography, supply us with the empirical data needed to produce a more or less scientifically arrived at picture of natural or bio-regional boundary. Let us, for example, take (a) species distribution, as a criterion of bio-regional limit. Bio-regionalists argue that the 'biotic shift'

- the percentage change in plant and animal composition from one place to another - would when measured and cross-references with other factors (viz. climate, rainfall, physiography, etc.) provide us with a blurred but nonetheless useable map of bio-regional variation. Bio-regionalism thus suggests that in a new age of ecological radicalism and biological realism political boundaries would be increasingly more sensitive to natural and more or less scientifically measurable limits of these macro-biologically distinct entities of which the planetary biosphere is composed.

BIO-REGIONAL INTERFEDERATION

Bio-regionalism begins by emphasizing and observing that the accumulated accidents of geology compounded by the vagaries of spontaneous biological evolution has created a living planet containing a plethora of unique ecological regions and sub-regions. It is further argued that the existence of biotic diversity on a regional basis is a vital component of world ecological stability. Inhabitants of distinct biotic regions must engage in modes of socio-ecological behaviour and interaction consistent with the preservation of such regions as life sustaining and self-renewing macro-biological entities.

Although the prime geographical unit according to the bio-regionalist perspective is thus that of the natural or eco-community' such matrixes although astoundingly diverse cannot be regarded as closed integers but are dependent for their survival upon wider external determinants. The need for clean air and the inter-continental migration of bird and marine life, etc., not only show us that bio-regional boundaries are extremely peice-meal but also their extreme interdependence on a global scale. Bio-regions must be capable of living in a dynamic ecological and federative harmony, with other neighbouring and even far-flung and ecologically remote bio-regions. Each bio-region must not only strive to ensure its own continuous happiness but must strive to take a responsible place in a delicately complex inter-regional, continental and inter-continent or global federation of environmental forces.

C. THE ECONOMIC REGION

At the present time one of the major causes of environmental destruction and mass pollution is large-scale concentrations of agricultural and industrial activity. The fact that large quantities of oil, coal or uranium lie many hundreds of feet beneath the surface of the Earth - has led to the development of large towns & cities in areas where if only cultural and ecological factors were considered, large-scale human habitation would in all probability never have occurred. This problem has been exacerbated by the fact that many of these large-scale industrial processes are ecologically damaging in their own right. Producing toxic substances which have been buried for many, many millions of years - or which are only naturally found in very small

amounts upon the surface; or more chillingly the likes of which have never-ever occurred in nature before. It is obvious to all that humankind's technological, industrial and economic experiments must undergo enormous changes and become much more integrated with the biology and ecology of our living planet.

Although environmental impact studies are now commonplace, the suitability of the region for human co-habitation or the ecological damage that industrial activity might cause, have in the past hardly entered the calculations at all. Economic activity being conducted on the basis of capital and state - that is money and profit before human welfare and nature. The environmental and social chaos on Bougainville Island in the South Pacific caused by the existence of massive quantities of copper is perhaps one of the most striking examples Imperial-state-capitalist chaos and the dominance of the economic region over that of the ecological one. Indeed the actual-space limits of cultural, economic and biological regions have in the 20th Century become increasingly less likely to geographically coincide on a one to one basis. The discovery of enormous mineral resources in Antarctica - an area of great biological diversity with no indigenous human population - let alone culture, and which needs the human-animal like Australia needed rabbits shows us that the geographical dislocation of economic, cultural and biological life has reached the point of absolute absurdity. The dominance of capitalism and centralized state-dictatorship has led biological and cultural factors to be subverted to so-called 'economic considerations'. Much of the world's land mass being divided up for all practical purposes into agro-industrial regions. One region being associated with uranium mining another with large-scale wheat production. It is obvious that the overly aggressive industrial culture of the last few centuries which tended to divide the Earth into "economic regions" must undergo revolutionary change. Basic energy, construction materials and food rather than being simply extracted from those regions where they are abundant and thence scattered and disseminated to where they are needed will have to be produced on a more local and ecologically sensitive basis,

The knowledge and technical know-how to achieve non-centralized economic self-sufficiency has long been with us. It has for example long been possible to build and fuel cars and a host of other machines and appliances from products derived from organically synthesised plant matter such as corn, soya beans and algae. Even Henry

Ford - usually heralded as one of the flag bearers of the oil & steel age unveiled in 1941 his biological car. The body was made of soyabeans, the wheels of golden rods and which was fueled by maize. Although for a variety of reasons, Ford's car and the science of chemurgy of which it was representative never gained the necessary industrial backing - the idea that many basic items of industry and manufacture can be produced from locally available agricultural plant resources in relatively pollution free ways - is one that is deservedly worthy of our very urgent attention. even such a simple thing as single-cell algae has the interesting property of being able to photo-synthesise solar energy into cellulose and other useful raw materials 5 times more efficiently than other plants - the dry product can be made into fuels, plastics & other useful materials. Algae can be grown on a local basis, indeed anywhere that there is sufficient water and sunlight. In place of the large-scale and ecologically non-integrated petro-chemical complexes which have characterised the oil-steel-coal era one can imagine an industrial infrastructure based upon a larger number of smaller botanochemical concerns producing a variety of material - plastics, fuel, food and building materials at the level of the individual and ecologically integrated city-region. Solar and wind energies despite massive state-corporate opposition is at last beginning to make an increasingly larger contribution to local energy supplies.

Although progress in these ecologically more sensitive and locally orientated technological approaches to fuel and energy production have been slow it is obvious that the dominant steel-coal-oil economic paradigm is in any case, although resource depletion, already doomed to extinction.

Besides the finite nature of coal and oil resources - the shipping or piping of all the United States of America's or Russia's energy from the Middle East or Siberia is not only inefficient but is also destabilizing. The recent oil war over Kuwait can only serve as a terrifying reminder of this fact. More generally like individuals, only those towns and cities which are able to cater for their needs and requirements from their own regional resources and industries may be truly free and independent of outside interferences, imperialism, economic domination and enslavement by others.

The idea of a totally self-reliant city is perhaps a utopian one. Differences in climate, physiography and natural vegetation etc., do of themselves make for an often very uneven distribution of scarce resources. It may not be possible to grow trees in a large number of ecological regions - and substitutes for wood or chip impracticable - supplies of timber having to be brought in from elsewhere. Certain important minerals and substance are so rare and found in so few places that it is inevitable that their regions should be associated with their extraction and processing. Anarchism, as previously discussed, hopes that the international trades-union movement will work co-operatively to ensure that such resources are distributed to where they are needed on an equitable and rational basis. On the whole however, the trend towards an individual city or region being dominated and dependant upon a single industry or resource is one that must be replaced by tendencies towards increasing local self-sufficiency where each individual city-region or federation of them is able to grow, manufacture, distribute and recycle the majority of its basic agro-industrial necessities.

CONCLUSION: THE REGIONAL INTEGRATION OF CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND ECOLOGICAL LIFE & ACTIVITY

Our analysis has shown that capitalist exploitation and national-state dictatorship or nature must be succeeded by a new model of human organization that has placed the idea of national-state-boarders and economic imperialism to the history books and instead seeks to gain harmony in the organization of a global federation of ecological regions.

The primary unit of social and economic life being that the eco-regionally integrated and self-governing city.

All of this does not however imply a situation where patterns of economic and cultural life are made to fit the limits of a crude biological determinism or a kind of eco-regional dictatorship. Bio regionalism in its purest theoretical formulation requires cultural and economic determinants to be organically tailored to a particular bio-region on a one to one basis. This kind of bio-regional purism is usually associated with the viewpoint that the bioregion when considered as an eco-system is a near all-embracing biological entity of which humans form only a small part and to which all forms of cultural and economic life should be completely subservient. Complete bio-regional integrity will only come about when the culturally accepted political unit is that of the bio-region.

The political concept of region is however an enormously complex matrix of which bio-regional determinants are one amongst many, though albeit, woefully neglected at the present time. Unless we are looking into the very distant past or of the very distant future the ecological region is highly unlikely, except in very special circumstances (e.g. on small and isolated islands) to ever serve as the sole criterion for the demarcation of political and regional space. To declare that it could do so is merely to express a conservative and unchanging attitude to nature in which environmental change and development is regarded as something evil in itself. Nature is however always modifying itself and to deny this fact is to deny the very fact of evolutionary process. Besides all animals change and alter their environment through the very act of living and evolving.

Humankind through its industrial and cultural practices over many, many centuries, has had a profound effect upon their surrounding environment. Often changing or interrupting the ecology of whole regions and continents. Although much of this activity has been very, very destruction - change need not imply disaster - and may indeed produce ecological success - enhancing and improving regional ecology or creating new and exciting environments. The British countryside, for example, is renowned for its beauty and diversity. Paradoxically there has existed no wilderness in Britain for two thousand years and was the first country to industrialize. Every inch of all the available land has been continuously and consciously moulded, shaped

and changed in order to cater for the economic and cultural requirements of its inhabitants. Nonetheless, for all that, until the reckless expansionism of recent years the British Isles has preserved much of its wildlife and adorned its country areas with grace and charm - the collective result of the artistic and constructive genius of all the people of the land over countless generations.

In some cases industrial activity accidentally enriches the surrounding environment. The hundreds of miles of canals that criss-cross the English country-side have become a haven for water life. Likewise the Norfolk Broads in England's East Angles was originally formed when deep channels were dug in order to collect peat for fuel - these in time filled with water - creating a living Venice in which a great variety of life has found a home in its complex maze of watercourses. Nature as it were naturally enhancing the industrial activities of our species. Agricultural practices, although capable of doing much damage have likewise provided new habitats in which indigenous regional plant and animal life might make a home. The dry-stone walls and hedgerows that form the characteristic patchwork of the British countryside of themselves providing new habitats for many species of wall-fern, plants and birdlife. In other instances, co-operation between agriculture and nature was more conscious - such as the old tradition of building barns with built in nesting holes for barn-owls to control the mice population. On a more extensive scale much of nearby Holland's agricultural land has been formed through land reclamation by means of a complex system of drainage dykes or canals.

Even the Australian Aborigines had a profound effect upon the land. For in order to encourage a plentiful supply of game in turn dependant upon a plentiful supply of fresh shoots the aborigines over many thousands of years developed an extensive pattern of controlled bush-burning. The activities of humankind in this instance, actually ensured the survival of many species - and with the arrival of the European invaders many species became extinct because the bush-burning upon which their survival depended was no longer being performed.

A bio-region is a dynamic, living and constantly evolving macro-logical entity that is not static or unchanging and usually has a

great number of social-ecological possibilities which may or may not involve varying degrees of human manipulation and offer differing prospects of maintaining life-renewable and harmonic forms of bio-social existence. Social-Ecological-Anarchism in advocating the idea of the bio-region does not ask us to subject all cultural and economic life to bio-regional dictatorship. Social-Ecological-Anarchism stresses rather, the need for economic, cultural and biological balance or partnership where economic and cultural patterns are integrated rather than being determined by their surrounding ecological regions. Social-Ecological-Anarchism accepted that a region may be significantly altered by a large range of cultural and economic practices but none-the-less holds to a soft determinist position which continuously underlines that socio-economic practices must be sensitive to local ecological conditions and consistently capable of preserving the integrity of their surrounding bio-regions.

Social-Ecological-Anarchism stresses that hydrocephalic concentration, mass culture and centralized (governmental or a non-regional) external power has resulted in imperialistic and non-integrated forms of industry and agriculture that are completely incapable of preserving the regional ecological integrity so vital for planetary biospheric survival.

Social-Ecological-Anarchism, whilst acknowledging that transregional-economic concerns are an important and unavoidable dimension of human life calls for the immediate and through-going application of appropriately re-scaled agro-industrial practices and technology which are intimately linked to regional needs and locally available renewable and non-renewable resources.

Similarly, while acknowledging the historical importance of transregional cultural affiliation, Social-Ecological-Anarchism nonetheless calls for a renewed and ecologically informed sense of regional uniqueness in each community. A sense not only of generalized or global dependence but of dependence on a specific region with distinct ecological needs and qualities of its own.

Social-Ecological-Anarchism presents us with a vision of human society where our species neither allows itself to dominate or be dominated by nature and the ecological region; nor it must be said does

anarchism merely ask us to live in harmony with nature. Social-Ecological-Anarchism hopes rather - that through the proper balancing of economic, cultural and ecological factors upon a regional basis to actively enhance and improve upon the beauty, generosity and creative potentiality of organic life and nature. Elisee Reclus (1830-1905) of all the bio-geographers and great anarchist writers of the last century does in the following passage perhaps most perfectly express the breadth and moral beauty of the social-ecological and anarchist world vision.

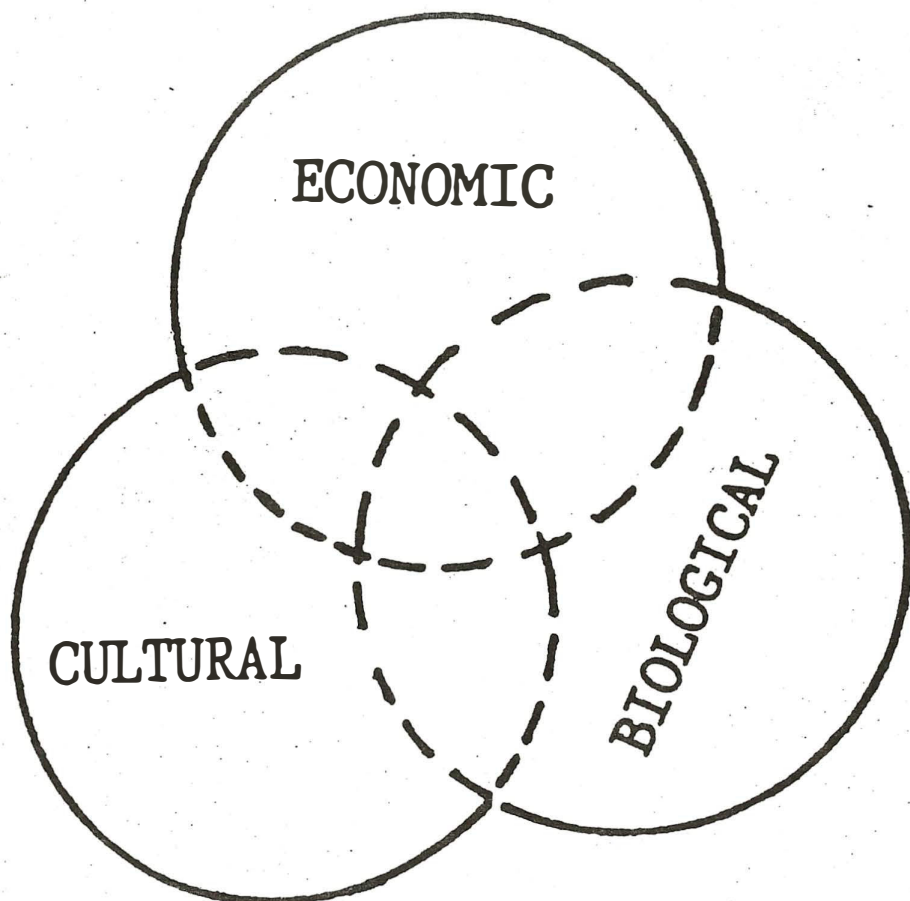
"Man's great efforts to drain marshes and lakes, to overcome natural obstacles, to modify the distribution of plant and animal species is, in itself, a fact of decisive importance in the transformation of the planet. It can beautify the earth as well as make it ugly. Depending on the social awareness and customs of each people nature is either degraded or elevated. Man moulds to his own image the country they inhabit. The barbarian, after centuries of brutal exploitation, had given the earth a ferocious, brutal aspect, whereas the civilized person, by intelligent cultivation, can make it radiate with grace, so to speak, in such a manner that the stranger who passes feels gently accepted and relaxes with confidence on its bosom." ('Du Sentiment de la nature dans les societies Modernes' Revue de Deux Mondes Vol.63 (15 May 1866)pp.352-381)."

Although having been misrepresented by governments and the bourgeois press, its followers misunderstood, persecuted and executed, the average person rendered unknowledgeable and ill-informed about its fundamental aims, principles and traditions - Social-Anarchism, does for all that - represent a vision of economic, ecological and social harmony which when presented in a clear and logical manner radiates a moral beacon whose light will never be extinguished by state-capitalist lies and bourgeois pseudo-science.

If we are to once again achieve confidence in nature and rest assured, in the complex survival processes of our living planet, Anarchism, like monarchism, imperialism, marxism, feminism, statism, environmentalism etc., must enter the intellectual and practical politics of the everyday life of the people. Anarchism as a body of social and scientific thought is as yet a budding tree of knowledge, which although occasionally opening a flower in a brief thaw in a late winter frost is waiting and ready to flower and bear fruit. Monarchism,

capitalism, statism on the other hand may have already fruited (monarchism certainly has), and are now in a process of decay. Anarchism in its vision of a global federation of ecologically integrated city-regions stands poised to rise and cast shade over all the other trees in the orchard of political ideals.

BIOREGIONAL PARTNERSHIP



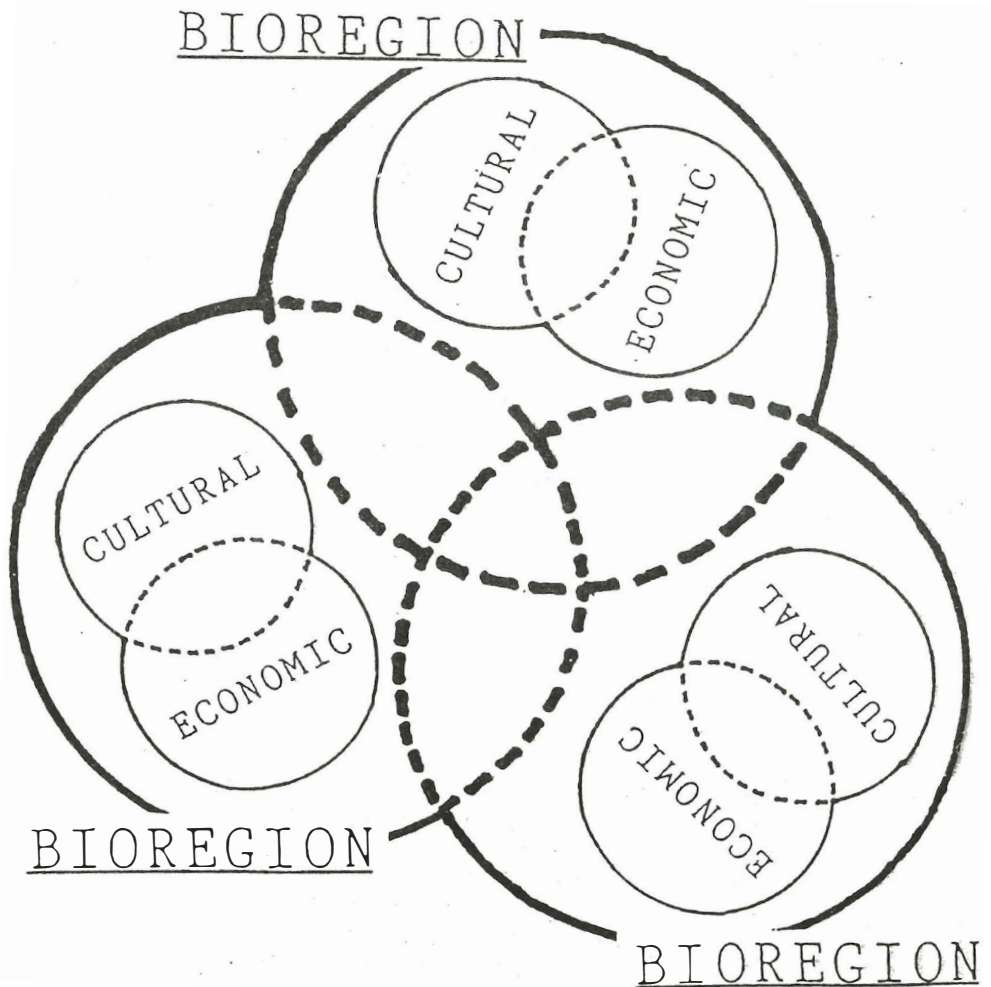
Regional distribution of basic industrial resources

Cultural:

Regional or subregional distribution of culture

Biological:

Regional distribution of macro-biological entities known as bio-regions



Anarchist Organisation: Suggestions & Possibilities

By
Graham Purchase

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